

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-02 INR-07

IO-10 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01

SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05

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R 090900Z JUN 75

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1024

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0157

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

US DEL SALT TWO GENEVA 0035

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0262

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL AND DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR

PERIOD JUNE 2-8, 1975

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. THE VIENNA TALKS FOCUSED THIS WEEK
ON THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE
OUTSET. IN THE JUNE 5 PLENARY MEETING, THE POLISH REP
SOUGHT TO REBUT THE ALLIED TWO-PHASED APPROACH, AS OUT-

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LINED MOST RECENTLY IN THE MAY 30 CANADIAN PLENARY

STATEMENT. IN THIS WEEK'S INFORMAL SESSION, EASTERN REPS PERSISTENTLY QUESTIONED THE FRG REP ON WHETHER NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD COMMIT THEMSELVES INDIVIDUALLY, ON A NATIONAL BASIS TO REDUCE THEIR FORCES BY A SPECIFIED AMOUNT IN A SECOND PHASE AGREEMENT. WHEN THE ALLIED REPS HELD BACK ON THIS ISSUE, EASTERN REPS CLAIMED THAT THE WEST WAS BACKTRACKING FROM EARLIER WESTERN STATEMENTS CONCERNING PHASE II REDUCTION COMMITMENTS. EASTERN REPS PRESSED THIS LINE IN SUBSEQUENT BILATERALS, ALSO IMPLYING THAT WESTERN PHASING PROPOSALS HAD A CERTAIN CHANCE OF ACCEPTANCE BUT WOULD HAVE TO BE ADAPTED TO EASTERN IDEAS. THE AD HOC GROUP PLANS TO REQUEST FURTHER GUIDANCE FROM NAC ON THE NATURE OF PHASE II WESTERN REDUCTION COMMITMENTS. END SUMMARY.

2. FOR THE FIRST THREE WEEKS OF THE CURRENT ROUND OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, EASTERN REPS HAVE BEEN PRESSING HARD FOR INCLUSION OF NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCES IN REDUCTIONS. THE EAST CONTINUED TO EMPHASIZE THIS WEEK, AS POLISH REP STRULAK SAID IN HIS PLENARY STATEMENT, THAT COVERAGE IN REDUCTIONS OF ALL KINDS OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN THE AREA WAS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF THE EASTERN APPROACH. HOWEVER, IN THE PLENARY, INFORMAL AND BILATERAL MEETINGS, EASTERN REPS APPEARED TO BE SHIFTING THEIR FOCUS BACK TO THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET. THIS IS ESSENTIALLY, IN EASTERN EYES, THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE FRG SHOULD REDUCE FROM THE OUTSET, THE ISSUE WHICH PREOCCUPIED DELEGATES FOR THE FIRST YEAR OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND WHICH HAD REMAINED A CONSTANT TOPIC IN DISCUSSIONS TO THIS DATE.

3. AT THIS WEEK'S PLEARNRY MEETING, POLISH REP STRULAK RESPONDED TO THE LATEST STATEMENT OF THE WESTERN APPROACH TO PHASING, AS PRESENTED AT LAST WEEK'S PLENARY SESSION BY THE CANADIAN REP. STRULAK CRITICIZED WESTERN RELUCTANCE TO AGREE TO REDUCTIONS IN DIRECT PROPORTION TO NUMBERS OF TROOPS WITH COMBAT EQUIPMENT.

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HE STATED THAT, FOR POLITICAL, MILITARY, AND PUBLIC OPINION PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONS, ONLY ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN REDUCTIONS BY ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, THROUGH EXPLICIT NATIONAL OBLIGATIONS, WOULD BE POLITICALLY EFFECTIVE AND MEET THE PRINCIPLES OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY AND MUTUALITY OF OBLIGATIONS.

4. THE POLISH REP COUNTERED WESTERN CLAIMS CONCERNING

THE DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN US/USSR AND OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. STRULAK SAID EASTERN FIRST STEP PROPOSALS WOULD PROVIDE THE NECESSARY CONFIDENCE FOR NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO ASSUME CLEAR-CUT REDUCTION COMMITMENTS. HE IMPLIED THAT THE STRESS AT RECENT NATO MEETINGS ON COMBAT CAPABILITIES OF WEST EUROPEAN STATES PROVIDED THE BACKGROUND FOR WESTERN RELUCTANCE TO UNDERTAKE EXPLICIT COMMITMENTS. IN THE VIENNA TALKS. STRULAK CLOSED BY STATING THAT THE SHIRKING OF RESPONSIBILITY BY NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS HAS BECOME A MAJOR OBSTACLE TO AGREEMENT AND BY ASSERTING THAT THE ROAD TO PROGRESS STARTED WITH SOLUTION OF THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET.

5. IN THE JUNE 3 INFORMAL MEETING, POLISH REP ONCE AGAIN REVERTED TO THE "WHOSE FORCES" ISSUE, ASKING WESTERN REPS WHETHER EACH NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT WOULD UNDERTAKE SPECIFIC OBLIGATIONS ON THE AMOUNT OF ITS REDUCTIONS IN THE SECOND PHASE. ALLIED REPS SAID THEY WOULD NOT UNDERTAKE ANY OBLIGATION IN PHASE II WHICH WOULD RESULT IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL CEILINGS, AS PUSHED BY THE EAST. AFTER ALLIED REPS HAD PRESSED SOVIET REP ON THE NATIONAL CEILING ISSUE KHLESTOV STATED HIS OPINION THAT THERE WAS A DISTINCTION BETWEEN OBLIGATIONS TO REDUCE AND OBLIGATIONS TO MAINTAIN A RESIDUAL LEVEL; THEY WERE TWO DIFFERENT THINGS. GRANTING FOR THE PURPOSES OF ARGUMENT THAT THERE WOULD BE A COLLECTIVE CEILING FOLLOWING PHASE II REDUCTIONS, AS WESTERN REPS HAD INSISTED, SOVIET REP ASKED WHETHER EACH OF THE REMAINING WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD UNDERTAKE A COMMITMENT IN A SECOND PHASE TO REDUCE ITS FORCES BY A SPECIFIC AMOUNT? FRG AND OTHER ALLIED REPS
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REPLIED THAT EASTERN QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE CONTENT OF PHASE II OBLIGATIONS WERE PREMATURE, AND REPEATED THAT WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD UNDERTAKE ONLY THOSE PHASE II OBLIGATIONS WHICH WERE COMPATIBLE WITH THE IDEA OF A COLLECTIVE CEILING.

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SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0158

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

US DEL SALT TWO GENEVA 0036

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL AND DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

6. KHESTOV AND OTHER EASTERN REPS REACTED TO THESE ALLIED RESPONSES BY CLAIMING THAT WESTERN REPS HAD BACKED AWAY FROM EARLIER WESTERN STATEMENTS INDICATING THAT, ALTHOUGH NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WERE NOT PREPARED TO UNDERTAKE SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS ABOUT REDUCTION OF THEIR FORCES IN CONNECTION WITH A PHASE I AGREEMENT, THEY WOULD BE PREPARED TO DO SO IN PHASE II. EASTERN REPS PRESSED THIS POINT WITH INCREASING VIGOR DURING THE BALANCE OF THE INFORMAL
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SESSION AND IN FOLLOW-UP BILATERAL TALKS.

7. IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE EAST CONSIDERS THEY HAVE DISCOVERED A WEAKNESS IN THE ALLIED POSITION ON THE

NATURE OF PHASE II REDUCTIONS COMMITMENTS AND THAT THEY WILL PRESS THIS ISSUE HARD IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE. UK REP REPORTED ON THE ISSUE TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL JUNE 6 DURING THE AD HOC GROUP'S REGULAR PERIODIC REPORT. FOLLOWING A NON-CONCLUSIVE DISCUSSION JUNE 4, THE AD HOC GROUP DECIDED TO SUBMIT SOON A FORMAL REQUEST TO THE COUNCIL FOR GUIDANCE.

8. IN BILATERALS, EASTERN REPS CRITICIZED ALLIED REPS CONCERNING THE WESTERN POSITION AT THE INFORMAL ON PHASE II REDUCTION COMMITMENTS. EASTERN REPS ALSO HAVE SOME HINTS OF POSSIBLE FLEXIBILITY ON PHASING AND ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS. STRULAK TOLD BELGIUM REP THAT THERE MIGHT BE SOME MERIT IN THE WESTERN TWO-PHASED APPROACH, AND THAT WESTERN PHASING PROPOSALS HAD A CERTAIN CHANCE OF ACCEPTANCE, BUT WOULD HAVE TO BE ADAPTED TO EASTERN IDEAS. CZECHOSLOVAK REP MEISNER TOLD UK REP THAT THERE COULD BE NOT ONLY EQUAL PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS, BUT ALSO ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS IN THOSE FORCE ELEMENTS WHERE AN IMBALANCE PRESENTLY EXISTS. MEISNER SAID THIS "OVERALL METHOD" WOULD TAKE ACCOUNT OF ALL FORCES. ON DATA, SOVIET REP KHLESTOV TOLD FRG REP THAT THE EAST WOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS DATA ON NUCLEAR WARHEADS AND DELIVERY SYSTEMS IF THE WEST WERE WILLING TO INCLUDE NUCLEAR ELEMENTS IN REDUCTIONS.

9. AFTER A LENGTHY PERIOD OF QUIESCENCE, ROMANIAN REP ANINOIU WAS BUSY LATE THIS WEEK CALLING ON ALLIED REPS. BESIDES PRESSING THE STANDARD ROMANIAN CASE CONCERNING SOVIET PRESSURE TACTICS AND THE DANGERS OF SUPERPOWER DIPLOMACY AND THE BLOC-TO-BLOC APPROACH, ANINOIU EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE SOVIETS EVENTUALLY COULD ACCEPT WESTERN PHASING PROPOSALS UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS. ANINOIU ALSO SAID THAT KHLESTOV HAD PREDICTED TO HIM THAT AN MBFR AGREEMENT WOULD BE REACHED IN THE CURRENT ROUND. RESOR

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